

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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P R 281212Z JAN 77

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7811

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUDAPEST 0305

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, HU, PINT

SUBJECT: JANOS KADAR ON BUILDING SOCIALISM

REF: 76 BUDAPEST 3795 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: IN ARTICLE APPEARING JANUARY 24 IN NEPSZABADSAG,  
ORGAN OF HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (HSWP), JANOS  
KADAR EXPLAINS HOW HUNGARY HAS GONE ABOUT BUILDING SOCIALISM  
SINCE HIS ADVENT TO POWER IN 1956, POINTING OUT IN PROCESS  
NECESSITY FOR EVOLUTIONARY APPROACH. NEPSZABADSAG ARTICLE  
IS A FULL PAGE EXCERPT OF ORIGINAL ARTICLE APPEARING EARLIER  
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IN CZECH-BASED PERIODICAL OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST  
MOVEMENT PEACE AND SOCIALISM. KADAR ACKNOWLEDGES EXISTENCE  
OF MANY ROADS TO SOCIALISM, CONCEDES THAT SOCIALISM MAY BE  
BUILT UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER A MULTI-PARTY  
SYSTEM, AND CLAIMS NO SPECIAL ROLE FOR HUNGARIAN PATH.  
KADAR RETAINS FRONT AND CENTER DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT,  
A REASONED PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM, AND IMPORTANCE

OF SOVIET EXPERIENCE AND TIE. AT SAME TIME, HOWEVER, HE CLEARLY ACCEPTS AS PROPER NEW DIRECTIONS BEING TAKEN BY WESTERN EUROPEAN COMPARTIES. ESSENTIALLY KADAR ARTICLE IN HSWP ORGAN IS REAFFIRMATION OF HSWP'S POLICIES. IT ALSO UNDERSCORES, HOWEVER, NEED FOR ADJUSTMENT AND EVOLUTION OF IDEAS TO COPE WITH CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES. FOR SECOND TIME IN TWO MONTHS HSWP FINDS IT EXPEDIENT OR EVEN NECESSARY TO REFER TO VALIDITY OF ITS OWN HISTORIC EXPERIENCE AND ITS ASSOCIATION WITH NATIONAL VALUES, AN EMPHASIS WITH BOTH INTERNAL AND FOREIGN IMPLICATIONS. REAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ARITCLE, HOWEVER, PROBABLY LIES IN ITS TIMING. APPARENTLY DEEPLY DISTURBED BY SERIOUS PROBLEMS THAT HAVE RECENTLY SURFACED IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, GDR, AND POLAND, KADAR SEEMS TO BE CONTRASTING OVERALL STABILITY IN HUNGARY WITH INSTABILITY EVIDENT IN THOSE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES; AT SAME TIME, HE POINTS OUT HSWP POLICY AS REASON FOR STABILITY IN HUNGARY INDIRECTLY SUGGESTING TO WE COMPARTIES AND OTHERS THAT THEY WOULD DO WELL TO DRAW PROPER POLICY CONCLUSIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. CALLING ATTENTION TO REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCE OF HSWP IN 1918, 1948 AND 1956 AND "BALANCED" DEVELOPMENTS OF LAST TWENTY YEARS, KADAR POINTS OUT THAT NEW CIRCUMSTANCES REQUIRE HSWP TO FORGE NEW POLICIES. ITS PRIMARY OBLIGATION IS TO PAY ATTENTION TO HUNGARY'S NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS AS WELL AS TO COMMON INTERNATIONAL LAWS OF BUILDING SOCIALSIM. "HUNGARIAN PATRIOTISM IS INSEPARABLE FROM PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM," HE MAINTAINS, ADDING LATTER IS BASIS FOR RECONCILIATION OF NATIONAL AND

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INTERNATIONAL INTERESTS. COOPERATION THROUGH PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALSIM, HOWEVER, SHOULD BE ON BASIS OF EQUALITY, INDEPENDENCE, AND VOLUNTARY COOPERATION OF FRATERNAL PARTIES. COMMUNIST PARTIES MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THEIR WON EXPERIENCE AND THAT OF BROTHER PARTIES, JUST AS "OUT PARTY HAS BEEN AND IS LEARNING FROM EVERY COMMUNIST PARTY AND RECOLUTIONARY FORCE." SOVIET EXPERIENCE IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT, HE DECLARES, BUT THERE SHOULD BE NO MECHANICAL COPYING OF THAT EXPERIENCE.

2. KADAR THEN ADDRESSES ISSUE OF ONE-PARTY VERSUS MILTIPARTY SYSTEM. "IN MY OPINION," HE DECLARES, "QUESTION OF A ONE-PARTY OR MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM IS NOT MAIN QUESTION IN BUILDING SOCIALISM. SOCIALISM OF WHICH THERE ARE MANY EXAMPLES, MAY BE BUILT UNDER MULTI-PARTY SYSTEMS. DECISIVE FACTOR IS MILITANT UNITY OF PROGRESSIVE FORCES COMMITTED TO SOCIALISM AND POLITICAL COHESION OF THOSE FORCES."

3. KADAR NEXT EXPOUNDS ON ROLE OF HSWP IN REPRESENTING AND RECONCILING ALL CLASSES OF HUNGARIAN SOCIETY. HISTORICALLY, CP WAS A CADRE PARTY BUT NOW AS VANGUARD PARTY IT NEEDS TO RALLY EVERYONE. PARTY CONNOT BUILD SOCIALIST SOCIETY WITHOUT SUPPORT OF NON-PARTY MEMBERS, HE ASSERTS, CITING AS EXAMPLE HUNGARY'S FIRST ATTEMPT AT COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE WHICH FOUNDERED. SECOND ATTEMPT IN 1958-1961 WAS SUCCESSFUL BECAUSE CAREFUL AND MORE PAINSTAKING EFFORT CARRIED OUT IN COLLABORATION WITH PEASANTRY. SIMILARLY, THROUGH HSWP'S PATIENT EFFORTS RECONCILIATION WITH AND ENLISTMENT OF CHURCH IN BUILDING SOCIALISM WAS BROUGHT ABOUT RECENTLY, CULMINATING IN CHURCH'S PARTICIPATION IN PEOPLE'S POPULAR FRONT.

4. POWER OF WORKING CLASS AND SOCIALIST STATES WILL CONTINUE TO BE NECESSARY FOR LONG TIME TO COME, KADAR  
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CONTINUES, ADDING THAT EARLIER THESIS THAT ALONG WITH BUILDING OF SOCIALISM CLASS WARFARE WILL CONSTANTLY SHARPEN WAS WRONG. ALSO WRONG IS IDEA THAT CONTINUOUS RELAXATION OF CLASS WARFARE ONLY REALISTIC POSSIBILITY. THIS ALWAYS DEPENDS ON DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL BALANCE OF POWER, HE AVERS. NOT SHARPENING OF CLASS WARFARE BUT DEFENSE OF REVOLUTION HAS EVER BEEN A COMMUNIST OBJECTIVE, HE DECLARES, BECAUSE IMPERIALISM HAS NOT GIVEN UP POLITICAL SUBVERSION AND ATTEMPTS TO INTERFERE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

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5. "TODAY, SOCIALIST STATE'S MAIN FUNCTION IS ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION," ACCORDING TO KADAR. DEMOCRACY IS ESSENCE OF SOCIALIST POWER AND SOCIALIST STATE, BUT DEMOCRACY OF A SYSTEM DEPENDS ON WHO IS IN POWER. EXISTING SOCIALIST STATES ARE CHANGING AND DEVELOPING. "IT CAN BE SUPPOSED THAT SOCIALIST REVOLUTION WILL CREATE NEW FORMS IN FUTURE," OPINES KADAR, CONCLUDING THAT "THERE MAY BE CHANGES, NOW UNFORESEEABLE, IN FORMS OF STATE, OF POWER, GOVERNMENT AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS." BUT, KADAR AVOWS, "A QUALITATIVE CHANGE IN SOCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES WILL ONLY

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COME ABOUT WHEN A SOCIALIST SYSTEM INEVITABLE REPLACES CAPITALISM."

6. "IN HUNGARY," KADAR GOES ON TO SAY, " SPECIFIC FORM OF WORKERS' POWER HAS TAKEN SHAPE IN KEEPING WITH LOCAL FEATURES WHICH HAS PROVEN ITS WORTH IN PRACTICE. OBVIOUSLY, DIFFERENT SOLUTIONS MAY TAKE PLACE UNDER DIFFERENT CIRCUMSTANCES. HUNGARIAN ROAD IS CLEAR. ELEVENTH HSWP CONGRESS DECLARED THAT COURSE OF DEVELOPMENT OF OUR SOCIETY AND DIMINISHING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CLASSES AND ESTABLISHMENT OF DEVELOPED SOCIALIST SOCIETY, STATE OF PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP CHANGES GRADUALLY INTO A SOCIALIST STATE EMBRACING WHOLE POPULATION WHOSE LEADING FORCE WILL REMAIN THE WORKING CLASS."

7. KADAR THEN EXPOUNDS ON ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL PROGRESS IN HUNGARY, IN LENGTHY PASSAGE IN COURSE OF WHICH HE ALSO STRESSES NECESSITY FOR CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC CONTACTS WITH WEST.

8. COMMENT: MAIN POINTS OF KADAR NEPSZABADSAG PIECE WERE CONTAINED IN HSWP CC COMMUNIQUE LAST OCTOBER (REFTEL). HIS STATEMENTS RE DIFFERENT PATHS TO SOCIALISM ARE NOT INCONSISTENT WITH THOSE HE MADE AT LAST YEAR'S BERLIN CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN COMPARTIES. HOWEVER, HE HAS NEVER BEEN SO EXPRESSLY CLEAR IN HIS ACCEPTANCE OF DIRECTIONS IN WHICH WE COMPARTIES ARE HEADING. KADAR IMPLIES THAT A NEW TYPE OF CONVERGENCE MAY EVOLVE, NOT BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM, BUT BETWEEN COALITION POLICIES AND DEMOCRATIC NOTIONS OF WESTERN COMPARTIES ONCE IN POWER AND SELF-STYLED INTERNAL DEMOCRATIC POLICIES OF HSWP. KADAR DOES NOT SEEM TO BE UNAWARE OF POSSIBILITY THAT CONTINUED ACCEPTANCE OF WESTERN COMPARTIES BY INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN LONG RUN MAY PROVIDE HSWP WITH INCREASED OPPORTUNITY FOR INDEPENDENT ACTION.

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9. KADAR CONTINUES TO ESPOUSE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM WHICH, HOWEVER, HE ATTEMPTS TO RECONCILE WITH NATIONALISM. HE CONTINUES ALSO TO KEEP SOVIET SENSITIVITIES IN MIND REGARDING NECESSITY TO MAINTAIN DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT IN HUNGARY, WHICH HE SAYS IS AN "HISTORICAL NECESSITY," AND NEED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT SOVIET THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE DEVELOPED IN LAST 60 YEARS. HE HASTENS TO ADD, HOWEVER, THAT ADAPTATION OF SOVIET EXPERIENCE SHOULD NOT BE MECHANICAL.

10. WITH A NOD IN DIRECTION OF WE COMPARTIES KADAR PLACES HEAVY STRESS ON WHAT HE CALLS "ALLIANCE POLICY." THERE IS NO VICTORY FOR SOCIALISM, HE DECLARES, WITHOUT ALLIES AND THE MASSES. ALLIANCE POLICY IN HUNGARY "EXPRESSES COHESION BETWEEN THREE QUARTER OF A MILLION COMMUNISTS AND MILLIONS OF WORKERS OUTSIDE THE PARTY." STRESS OF ARTICLE IS LESS ON EUROCOMMUNISM, A TERM OF WHICH KADAR IS ALLERGIC, AND MORE ON HSWP'S ALLIANCE POLICY UNDER WHICH ALL ELEMENTS OF HUNGARIAN SOCIETY ARE ENDLISTED IN BUILDING OF SOCIALISM.

11. REAL SIGNIFICANCE OF KADAR ARTICLE IN NEPSZABADSAG PROBABLY LIES IN ITS TIMING. THERE HAVE BEEN INDICATIONS HERE THAT HSWP IS WORRIED ABOUT RECENT UNSETTLING TRENDS IN GDR, SZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND POLAND. ARTICLE IN SENSE CONSTITUTES ADVICE TO EAST GERMAN, CZECH, AND POLISH LEADERSHIPS BY CONTRASTING OVERALL STABILITY EXISTING IN HUNGARY WITH INSTABILITY IN THESE COUNTRIES. WE CANNOT HELP BUT BELIEVE THAT KADAR RELISHED DOING SO SINCE IT IS COMMON TALK IN KNOWLEDGEABLE HUNGARIAN PARTY AND GOVERNMENT CIRCLES THAT SHARPEST CRITICS OF KADAR'S POLICIES HAVE BEEN AND ARE HUSAK AND

HONECKER.

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